

campaign expenses shall be levied upon the State and which shall provide for the publication in detail, of the heavy penalties, of the campaign expenses of every candidate for office.

Amendment: No such act was passed. There was offered and another to amend the Legislature.

Amendment: The bribe-giver and the bribe-taker still flourish. The unlimited use of money, damming and corrupting, still blazes at the very foundations of the government. Corruption is rampant everywhere. The judicial system is beset by the prosecution of sword duels, juries impotent, the two leading candidates for Governor's nomination for the high office of Governor hurl charge and counter-charge of the use of gigantic campaign funds.

Amendment: It promised "We favor such action will, under appropriate penalties, destroy all corrupt lobbying."

Amendment: No anti-lobby law passed. No attempt to pass one.

Amendment: The Third House is still worse than the people's house; still worse upon its dark and damning corruption, while open graft and brazen bribery is charged by Kentucky's Democratic editor.

Amendment: This party promised a State Commission on Utilities Commission.

Amendment: "We favor, under wise and proper restrictions, the creation of a State Commission on Utilities."

Amendment: No such commission. No such powers given any commission.

Amendment: This party promised a commission set for the benefit of farm-laborers—a non-partisan bank-laborers' organization, a law to regulate the employment of labor strikes and disputes, an anti-union pass law.

Amendment: None. No such laws passed.

Amendment: The law-making body passed a bill which destroyed the business of 2,500 insurance agents, drove every fire insurance company out of the State and which millions of dollars worth of property without protection; and finally compelled the laughable, yet miserable, spectacle of the Governor who had approved it, the State's Attorney General, and other State officers solemnly signing their names to a contract suggesting not to enforce it.

Three years ago we were promised, through national legislation, a reduction of the high cost of living, the preservation and increase of business, industrial and financial prosperity. Today business is paralyzed; American industries of mill, mine and factory are decreasing their output, shortening the hours of labor and reducing the wages of working days. The high cost of living has grown higher, while more than three million wage-earners know the bitterness of enforced idleness, the want which comes from the lack of a pay envelope and the hollowing of an empty dinner plate.

Amendment: We promised and promised and promised.

Amendment: The words well smoothen and fair, when it came to the deed and the doing.

Amendment: The baited and stumbled and failed.

Amendment: The name of an empty treasury, overwhelming debt, in the name of taxation and honest elections, in the name of the people's house against the Third House, in the name of economy, efficiency and good faith, in the name of every one of these broken promises which cry aloud for condemnation. I arraign this party before the tribunal of the people and demand judgment upon its broken covenants.

Amendment: The State's Financial Condition.

Every citizen is entitled to know the financial condition of his State, how his money has been spent and the results which he must meet. Under a regime of "Economy and Retrenchment" your public servants have made themselves responsible for the following conditions:

The Democratic party came into control of the three branches of the State government January 1, 1913. On this date there was outstanding unpaid warrants against the treasury amounting to \$569,000. On August 31, 1915, there was outstanding against the State unpaid interest-bearing warrants amounting to \$3,275,000. It will be seen that the party which has increased the public debt by the sum of \$3,715,000, while the entire State is drawing an annual interest of approximately \$163,750. This is a record and shows only half the truth.

The "economy" administration has expended \$3,012,861.79 more than the preceding Republican administration.

In a like period—\$3,010,000 more collected from the people—and yet the State has been plunged \$2,715,000 deeper into debt, making a total additional expenditure in the public revenues of \$2,715,000. This condition can not be corrected and cannot be justified.

How was this vast sum of additional money expended, and why, with more taxes, has the State been plunged deeper in debt?

HOW IT WAS SPENT.

In the first place, your public servants have not had the courage to pay the State's just obligations, but have permitted them to be

rapidly increased by the accumulation of interest. Public salaries have been increased in the last three years \$177,000. The purchase of paper and the public printing and binding has increased in the same period \$150,000. Extra help for the Senate and House for the last three sessions, and paid without warrant of law, \$46,000. The incidental fund for public officers during the same period has increased \$31,000. The cost of operating and maintaining our charitable institutions has increased \$109,000. Extra fire marshals for three years cost the State \$34,000. The cost of record books has been increased \$19,000; extra help in the Auditor's and Land Office, paid without warrant of law, \$37,000. Our three penal institutions have been operated at a loss of \$574,000. Extra cost, not including extra servants, of the last two legislative sessions, over 1896, the only time the Republican party ever controlled the lower House, \$107,000. This party has created more than 300 new offices and positions in State and county, most of them with salaries and expense accounts.

COMMISSIONS.

Kentucky has a commission to regulate everything from fire to fish, and from Dan to Beersheba; and when it is not called a commission it is called a board. We have the Railroad Commission, the Prison Commission, the Insurance Rating Commission, the Board of Control, the School Book Commission, the Fish and Game Commission, the Geological and Natural History Commission, a battalion of fire marshals, a company of foresters and a squad of hotel inspectors.

The Board of Control is composed of four members, with salaries totaling \$10,000. The Prison Commission has three members and salaries of \$7,300. The two Fire Insurance Rating Commissioners, with salaries of \$6,000. All of these have clerks, stenographers, telephones and other home comforts. The members of these high-priced commissions are at work in Frankfort almost a whole week in every month, and are paid on an average of \$2,600 a year for twelve weeks' work. One real commission on the job during working hours and working days could do the work of all, increase the efficiency of the public service and save the taxpayers of Kentucky thousands of dollars.

The two members of the Fire Insurance Rating Board have been seen in Frankfort so seldom that their appearance is the occasion of the wild alarm, lest another insurance bill is to be sprung upon an unsuspecting and defenseless public.

Cash balances approximately twice as large as those kept by the preceding Republican administration have been maintained by this administration and deposited with favored banking institutions, instead of reducing the cash balance by promptly retiring interest-bearing warrants. As shown by the monthly cash balances on the money deposited with these banks, which draws 2 1/2 per cent interest, your present administration during the last three fiscal years should have collected \$63,000. They have only collected \$31,000, a loss to the State of \$32,000.

In the Department of Education, concerning which the most rigid economy was promised, we find the most wanton violation of every sound principle of public accounting, the most reckless expenditure of money for the personal expenses of its chief officer and the willful violation of statutory requirements of accounting. The present Superintendent of Public Instruction, and who is his party's nominee for Secretary of State and who styled himself "The Wizard of Finance," has presented and caused to be paid for traveling expenses on alleged visits to the County Superintendents' offices the following sums for fiscal years: 1912, \$3,313; 1913, \$2,236; 1914, \$2,832, including such items as: \$596 for one month's charge that this officer has not been out of Frankfort on the State's business one-half of his time, and that therefore he has charged the State for expenses more than \$30 a day for every day he has been on its business, and on an average of \$10 a day for every working day in all the year. With the average hotel in Kentucky charging no more than \$2.50 a day, and the county seats not averaging thirty miles apart, it is impossible that these sums could be or were expended. Not only this, but with the exception of the last few months when this public official was a candidate, these sums have been paid without itemized accounts being filed, without bills, vouchers or receipts; and, worse still, from June, 1914, to January, 1915, they have been paid in direct violation of the following law of the State of Kentucky, passed session of 1914:

"Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Kentucky—

1. That all State officers, members of boards, members of commissions or employees who are now or who may hereafter be authorized by law to receive from corporations, the State treasury or from any fund appropriated out of the State treasury, their traveling or other expenses incident to the discharge of their official duties, shall take a receipt on blanks to be furnished by the Auditor, for all items of expense incurred by them in excess of one (\$1.00) dollar, and they shall submit to the Auditor an itemized statement of such expense, accompanied by said receipt, before the Auditor audits or pays said expenses."

A few scattering receipts, however, appear to have providentially fallen into the files by accident, and these throw a most interesting light upon the entire character of expenditures which the taxpayers of Kentucky have been compelled to pay.

September, 1913, Voucher No. 2,

to the Frankfort Motor Car Company \$63.75
During the same month, expenses presumably out in the State, \$280.
October, 1914, Poland Taxicab Company, Louisville, Ky. \$45.50
One trip of the "Wizard" is shown by Voucher No. 3 of June, 1915, and it is as follows:

"May 14, meals en route, Louisville to Paducah \$ 2.85
May 15, livery, Paducah 9.00
Same date, stenographic service. 1.50
Pullman fees, Paducah to Louisville 1.50
Same date, May 15, Palmer House 13.50
Total \$28.35
for one day and a half. Some traveling and some expense account!

I give you the facts and figures of these accounts. I leave judgment to your common sense.

This same official paid the fancy figure of \$116 for a typewriting desk, and has such a delicate taste in the matter of drinking water that he can not even think of using the filtered and refrigerated ice water furnished by the State to all officers, but is compelled to use, both summer and winter "Anita" mineral water while the taxpayer foots the bill.

In the department presided over by the "Wizard," he gave a contract to print Trustees' Registers at 20 cents each. The same register was printed under Superintendent Crabbs for seven and a half cents each. The same "Wizard" paid \$500 of the State's money for personal calendars, but was forced to refund this sum. This same official drew an illegal salary of \$125 per month until prevented from doing so by an opinion of the Attorney General. No part of this sum has been returned to the State. Printing done under the control of the "Wizard" by the State printer has had a phenomenal increase. In 1912, \$4,000; 1913, \$22,000; 1914, \$23,000.

All of the printing in this department was contracted for by Mr. Hamlett until March, 1915, when this was stopped by an opinion of the Attorney General holding that, like other printing, it should come under the State's general contract and the contracts go through the Printing Board.

In this same department, presided over by the aforesaid "Wizard," there is today \$35,000 of vouchers in large sums, issued and paid for printing, with no invoices, no bills attached and no way to determine for what printing or on what contract the payments have been made. The payments of all this money could not have been made without the knowledge or willful negligence of the State's fiscal officers. In this same department there was a balance in the school fund in 1914 of \$638,000, and yet the per capita was kept at \$4 and the teachers of that year deprived of a surplus which might be built up on which, and on the eve of the primary and general election, to provide for the seven months' school term to nominate the "Wizard" for Secretary of State and assist in his election. This action deserves the condemnation of every school teacher in Kentucky. It is political chicanery and demagoguery of the worst order. The seven months' school term boasted of in the Democratic platform was declared on the eve of an election for political advantage and can not and will not last beyond the present term.

Let us look at the Secretary of State's office, presided over by "The Wizard of Finance," who forgot the Tax and Convict Road Working Amendments. Under this department is the Automobile License Department, collecting under a specific statute a specific fund to be held and used for road purposes. On June 30, 1913, there had been collected and was in this special fund \$101,000. Without warrant of law, and in violation of law, this sum was transferred, by charging it off into the general expenditure fund, thus robbing the roads and highways of the State for the purpose of helping to pay salaries of new and useless officers. This is the same department whose chief officials have been and some of whom are still under indictment and concerning which a grand jury reported that the State had been robbed, but the system of bookkeeping was so wretched that it could not tell how much had been stolen or who had stolen it.

This is the general condition of your State's finances, so far as I now have the time to explain it. More will come later. The details I have had time to give fairly demonstrate the way in which the public money has been handled and spent. Bearing in mind the broken promises of your servants, behold the failure of your law-makers, conscious of the useless waste of revenue, is it any wonder that every Democratic candidate has again promised economy and declared for the abolition of useless offices? Is it any wonder that the Courier-Journal proclaims the existence of the "House that Graft Built," and asserts that the lobby has ridden with loose rein and flying whip over the people's representatives? Is it any wonder that the Louisville Times denounces Mr. Greenleaf for forgetting General Garnett for permitting the long contract of convict labor for the benefit of the contractors, while it denounces the condition of the penitentiaries, the failure to protect the ballot and the general backwardness of the State? Is it any wonder that even the Democratic candidate for Governor denounces the Legislature as controlled by graft and admits the extravagant expenditure of money; denounces useless officials, promises to consolidate commissions and says he needs an electric light to guide him through the midnight darkness of the State House?

You have been made husbandmen of the fairest land on earth, yet have let the golden harvest of its opportunities go ungathered and have permitted it to be despoiled. You have been given the shining talents of government; yet have hidden them in the dirty napkin of political intrigue. Now the Master (the people) demand to know the condition of the vineyard and the use you have made of the talents.

Your public servants have given promises instead of deeds; words instead of acts; the results of bad government instead of the blessings of good government. These servants, responsible for these conditions, now ask the continuation of your confidence and perpetuation in your offices. The present Clerk of the Court of Appeals asks to become Auditor of Public Accounts; the "Wizard" Superintendent of Public Instruction longs to be Secretary of State; the Assistant Superintendent of Public Instruction desires to step into the shoes of his chief; the Assistant Attorney General wants to be Attorney General; the State Examiner and Inspector of Public Accounts has been nominated for Treasurer. Rotating all Capitol Square still shaking the plum tree! Every member of the last Legislature from Louisville longs again for the glory of statesmanship. Thirty members of the Lower House who made the legislation of 1912-14 enough to control caucuses and dictate committees, have been nominated as the candidates by their party. It is reasonably certain that the next session of the General Assembly will be controlled by those who controlled it in 1912. You cannot clean house with a dirty broom! You cannot overthrow a lobby-controlled Legislature by returning largely the same members. You cannot rebuke unfaithful servants by returning them to office and giving them a vote of confidence. A new broom and a general house-cleaning is needed at Frankfort, and I believe it should begin in November.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM PLEDGES.

The Republican party presents to the people of Kentucky a plain, progressive platform, embodying a complete system of constructive and remedial legislation. It stands for good roads, and congratulates itself that the present good roads law was framed and passed by the untiring efforts of a Republican State Senator. It stands for more schools and school houses, for a longer school term, and for the extension of the State's institutions of higher learning, and for the complete elimination of all politics from the public schools. It stands for the by-partisan control of all penal and charitable institutions. This party is pledged to the enactment of a workmen's compensation law, and it is the first party in Kentucky to make such a pledge for the benefit of those who risk life and limb in the hazardous occupations of mill and factory and railroads and those who toil in the midnight darkness of the mines; and pledges itself to the passage of a law which will provide a fair system to protect and care for those who are maimed by accident and for their wives and children. Such a law can and should be provided.

We believe in increasing the powers of the present Railroad Commission, by giving it jurisdiction over the other public utilities of the State.

My party believes in a corrupt practice act. It was the first party to pledge the passage of such an act, and calls attention to the broken promises of our opponents to pass such a law. Something must be done to limit the amount which may be bid for a public office. The people have the right to know the amount and sources of all campaign funds, who they came from and how they have been expended. Some check must be placed upon the man who either has or can secure great sums of money to be used in debauching elections. The man who buys his way into a public office will steal his way out.

We believe in the election of the judiciary, the final safeguard of life, liberty and property, without regard to politics; and desire to put the Judge above and beyond political influence in order that he may be selected upon the ground of fitness and qualification alone.

We believe in the principle of the direct primary law, and a Republican platform first declared for such a law. We believe the present law is unfair, unjust and imperfect; made for the purpose of preventing joint nominations, to widen the breach between political parties and to prevent the great body of independent and thinking voters from exercising their beneficial influence in primary elections.

The Republican party stands pledged to the passage of a tax amendment to enable the Legislature to classify property for this purpose. The opposition party is responsible for the present unjust system of taxation—responsible for every inequality and unfair burden which it imposes upon you, and responsible for the unreasonable delay in its amendment.

The Republican party favors the proposed tax amendment, and after its passage the enactment of a just, fair and scientific tax law, carefully prepared by taxing experts which shall provide a fair tax rate and a just and equitable classification, dealing fairly with the farmer and the capitalist, with visible and intangible wealth, and which shall cause every class of property to be taxed for taxation which shall, under the systems which have been demonstrated as satisfactory in other States, fairly classify and rate every character of property. When such an act shall have been passed it should be submitted for ratification to a vote of the people.

THE COUNTY UNIT.

During the past few months the

question of the regulation of the manufacture and sale of liquor has created among our people the deepest interest and has occasioned a widespread and thorough discussion. Upon this most important subject the Republican party has always taken advance ground, and had the courage in 1907 to first declare for a local option law, with the county as the governing unit, and in its last convention it has proven true to its past history and was first to take an open stand. The declaration of my party upon this vital question is as follows:

"The Republican party in Kentucky is responsible and deserves the credit for the county unit law. In 1907 we declared definitely for the local option law, with the county as the governing unit, and in 1911 we again declared for the county unit law in accordance with the constitution. We now declare our continued adherence to the county unit law, and we do hereby endorse the present county unit law, and we favor the adoption of such amendments thereto as may be necessary to make it effective beyond question."

This declaration is an honest declaration, voluntarily made, without influence or coercion. I have always been for the principle of the county unit law. I was for it in 1907, when it was first embodied in a Republican platform. I was for it in 1911, and helped to carry my county delegation for it and for its champion. I was for it in the election which followed, and declared my allegiance to it in every county in Kentucky. I was for it when it came before the next Legislature for passage, and urged the Republican members of that Legislature to support it. I have been for it throughout its entire political history, and I am for it now. I have not been driven to its support by the exigency of political conditions. I stand upon my party's promise, both in letter and in spirit, and if elected Governor of Kentucky I pledge to the right enforcement, maintenance and perfection of this law, the best efforts of my heart and mind, my energy and enthusiasm, profoundly conscious of the gravity of my obligation and fully convinced that with genuine effort this law can and shall be made to serve its high purpose.

As to the past convictions of my opponent upon this question, I am not advised, but upon this subject the statement of Lieutenant Governor McDermott should be of interest. This statement was made in connection with the appearance of Mr. Stanley before the Democratic candidates and Committee on Resolutions in 1911 and the statement of Mr. McDermott concerning the language of Mr. Stanley at that time is as follows:

"Gentlemen, I hear that you are considering recommending for the Democratic platform the county unit. I want to say to you that I am opposed to the county unit. I have always been opposed to the county unit. I come from a county where my people know that I have always been opposed to it. I come from a county as dry as a powder horn, and yet they have elected me for Congress. If you put the county unit in the platform you will commit a blunder, and you will most certainly go down in defeat."

THE INFAMOUS REDISTRICTING LAW.

My friends, I want to talk to you a little while on a subject that is close to my heart, because it is a wrong against my people in the land where I was born and live. We all believe in equality, the great bedrock principle of the republic, yet today by law one-sixth of your fellow citizens are denied equality of representation, their most precious right and heritage. The constitution of Kentucky, Section 33, provides:

"The First General Assembly, after the adoption of this constitution, shall divide the State into 38 Senatorial districts and 100 Representative districts, as nearly equal in population as may be, without dividing any county, except where a county may include more than one district, which districts shall constitute the senatorial and representative districts for ten years. Not more than two counties shall be joined together to form a representative district; provided in doing so the principle requiring every district to be as nearly equal in population as may be shall not be violated."

In the face of this clear cut and fundamental law, the Legislature of Kentucky in 1893 passed a bill creating legislative and senatorial districts and passed it in such a way that 350,000 citizens of Kentucky were absolutely disfranchised and given no representation in their Legislature. In 1900 a new census was taken, and it became the duty of the Legislature to pass a new districting act, but this wrong was not righted. In 1906 a new redistricting act was passed, but this only increased and made the wrong more outrageous. In 1907 a Democratic Court of Appeals was called upon to decide whether this redistricting law was fair and just. The Court of Appeals, in passing on this subject, made use of the following unusually strong language:

"The act under discussion is grossly violative of section 33 of the constitution. In that the injunction as to equality between the districts was not even pretended to be obeyed by the Legislature, and is not and cannot be denied.

Inequality of representation is a tyranny to which no people worthy of freedom will tamely submit. To say that a man in Spencer County shall have seven times as much influence in the government of the State as a man in Ohio, Butler or Edmonson is to say that six men out of every seven of those counties are not represented

in the government at all. No citizen will or ought to love the State which oppresses him; and that citizen is arbitrarily oppressed who is denied equality of representation with every other citizen of the commonwealth.

In defiance of this opinion of Kentucky's Supreme Court, in willful and wanton violation of the constitution, the Kentucky Legislatures of 1908-10-12 and 14 have knowingly, willfully and corruptly refused to comply with the constitution of Kentucky and the mandate of the State's highest court.

The senatorial district in which I live is composed of eight big counties, with a population of more than 170,000, and an area of more than 2,500 square miles. We have one member of the Senate. The Twenty-third Senatorial district, composed of the three small counties of Boone, Owen and Gallatin, with a population of about 30,000 and an area of 748 miles, has also one Senator. One man in that district has as much representation as six men in my district. The comparison of the Twenty-third and Thirtieth Senatorial Districts is just as bad. Many of the legislative districts are worse—the representation being at the ratio of eight to one. As a net result, there are 400,000 citizens of Kentucky who are today disfranchised and deprived of equal representation. In the name of justice, in the name of the social compact which binds us together as one people, in the name of the blood of common ancestors spilled in the pioneer days when Kentucky was carved from the wilderness, in the name of the heroes dead on the battlefield of freedom, in the name of the brotherhood of man which inspires every man to love and respect the rights of his neighbor, I appeal to you to right this monstrous wrong. You can only do this by voting for the Republican party, which will give to every man, woman and child in all Kentucky fair, equal and just representation.

My friends, I believe in economy. I believe in public service; I believe that an office is a public trust. The Republican party has pledged the people of Kentucky that it will abolish useless offices, remove useless officials and abolish unnecessary commissions; and, above all, that in order to meet and liquidate the public debt, will enforce the most rigid system of economy in the management of public affairs. What we need in Kentucky is less politics and more business; fewer promises and more performance; more red tape and less red tape; more saving in the collection of revenue and less extravagance in its expenditure. Above all else, and for the greatest good of the State, we must destroy the political system which has almost destroyed Kentucky. This system is based and rooted in trade and barter, and finds its unvarying expression in the payment of private political obligations with the gift of public office. Positions are pledged in advance and filled, not because of training, capacity and fitness, but in consideration of the delivery of political influence. This system has filled the State House with useless commissions, clerks and officers, destroyed efficiency and turned the Capitol into a clearing house for the trade and barter and settlement of political debts.

I made my own race for my party's nomination. I was not the candidate of any man or any set of men, or any business or of any interest. I have made no pledges, no promises, nor have any been made for me. I had rather be defeated in honor than to secure and wear the purple knowing that it will cover and hide a corrupt trade and bargain. I had to secure my nomination no campaign fund. The total contributions which came to me from all sources was the pitiful sum of \$1,008—\$300 of which came from my brother; the balance in sums from \$5 to \$100 from my personal friends and schoolmates, without regard to party. I never had a single penny from any other source. This sum was expended for advertising, stamps and stationery. To secure my election to the exalted position to which I honorably aspire, I shall not pledge a single office or make a single trade. When this great trust comes to me, my hands shall be free to take it, my mind not bound by bargains; and under God my heart and conscience free to strive alone for the good of Kentucky and the welfare of her people.

I love my State. Every fibre of my being thrills at the mention of her name. Every good impulse of my soul is dedicated to her service. I believe in her possibilities and her future. If love and hope, if energy and enthusiasm will avail, I promise, with the assistance of the young and aggressive men composing our State ticket, to bring a new and a better day to Kentucky, to destroy the old order and the old system, that the new order and the new system may work their wonders; to conserve and develop our resources, to lay aside the whip with which capital has been lashed from our midst, and invite it to cast its lot with us, to the end that the stalwart spirit of gigantic progress shall move throughout the land, harnessing our rivers to the whirling apindles and turning wheels of industry, delving deep into the sides of our mountains and bringing to the channels of trade our great undeveloped wealth; to remove from our people unnecessary burdens, and to make life, liberty and property more secure, all to the great end that the Old State shall indeed be the fairest land in all the world, and that the sun shall shine again upon the Old Kentucky Home.

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